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NEWS & VIEWS

Living Like Damocles

In military parlance, "broken arrow" is the term for a military accident involving a nuclear weapon. The Pentagon has acknowledged 11 such accidents, although little is known publicly about six of them. Barry Schneider capsulizes the other five in the current *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*:

1. *Aircrash over Palomares, Spain.* On Jan 17, 1966 an American B-52 bomber collided with a KC-135 refueling tanker causing the deaths of five crewmen and the dropping of 4 hydrogen bombs which were recovered after an intensive ground and sea search. Radioactive leakage and conventional explosions occurred in the area.

2. *Bomb Accidentally Dropped over South Carolina.* On March 11, 1958 a B-47 bomber accidently dropped a nuclear weapon in the megaton range over Mars Bluff, South Carolina. The conventional explosive "trigger" of the nuclear bomb detonated leaving a crater 75 feet wide and 35 feet deep. One farmhouse was obliterated. Luckily no nuclear radiation leakage was detected, no nuclear explosion occurred and no one was killed.

3. *Bomarc Missiles Burned in Fire.* On June 7, 1960, a fire at McGuire Air Force Base led to a series of shattering explosions and the destruction of one of 56 nuclear-armed Bomarc missiles. While no nuclear explosion occurred there was a small amount of radioactive leakage creating a temporary health hazard.

4. *24-Megaton Bomb Safety Devices Sprung.* In 1961 a near catastrophe occurred at Goldsboro, N. C., when a B-52 bomber had to jettison a 24-megaton bomb. Five of the six interlocking safety devices were set off by the fall. A single switch prevented the bomb from exploding, an explosion which would have been over 1,800 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

5. *Greenland Air Crash Scatters Plutonium.* On Jan. 21, 1968 a B-52 attempting an emergency landing at Thule Air Force Base, Greenland, crashed and burned on the ice of North Star Bay. The high explosive components of all four nuclear weapons aboard detonated producing a plutonium-contaminated area of at least 300-400 feet wide and 2,200 feet long.

Schneider presents these details in arguing that most U.S. tactical weapons be brought home and most of them retired. There would be no loss in national security, he comments, but rather "a net gain in security as the chances decrease for accidents, for theft, and for unauthorized use of the weapons."

On the latter point, he estimates that about 120,000 persons — including NATO allies, security guards, scientists at weapons labs, shipyard and arsenal workers—have access to the 30,000 U.S. nuclear weapons and to weapons-grade fissionable material. What happens if someone in a crucial position goes haywire? Schneider notes that recently 3,647 persons with access to nuclear weapons were removed from their jobs during a single year for such reasons as mental illness, alcoholism and drug abuse.

Watching One's Tongue

Look for the World Council of Churches to strike the sexist language from its constitution. The WCC executive committee will formally recommend the action at the Fifth Assembly scheduled for Nairobi Nov. 23-Dec. 10. Sample changes: substitution of "moderator" for "chairman," "people" for "men," and alternative wording for "brotherhood."

The executive committee is also asking a group of language experts to draw up guidelines for eliminating sexist language from WCC speeches and publications. The language reform is expected to reach symbols, images and references associated with God.

The committee's decision followed receipt of a paper which stated:

"The argument that words such as brotherhood or fellowship include the whole community, male and female, is no longer acceptable to many women. Firstly, women have learned that the 'brotherhood' within the Church really is a brotherhood where women are often excluded from the decision-making process and from ordained ministry. Secondly, the use of male pronouns . . . reflects the powerlessness of the very women who have heeded Christ's call to freedom and make up a large portion of most congregations."

Christians/Socialism

The Vatican is training its sights on "Christians for Socialism," the socio-political movement that originated in Latin America and is spreading to other continents [News & Views, 1/17/71].

Vatican Radio recently zeroed in on the ideological and "pseudo-theological" positions of the movement in Italy, saying they are weighted by the fundamental error of opting for Marxism as a method of "interpretation" and "change" of social reality.

"Christians for Socialism attribute to the Marxist method a scientific rigor in its analysis of the capitalist system and in its proposals for construction of a more just and humane society," Vatican Radio said. "But the scientific basis of this method is not recognized even by many Communist scholars. Furthermore, the record shows that where the method has been applied, it has not brought about better results than those obtained under the capitalist system. . ."

The sum of the Christians-for-Socialism movement is confusion, in Vatican Radio's opinion. "The church becomes confused with the world; salvation from sin with temporal progress; God's saving history with profane history; charity with class struggle."

Christians for Socialism would demur on that. They see their movement as an organized effort to bear witness and live the Christian life in a struggle for socialism as a way of liberating people from economic slavery.

On a Clear Day . . .

"As interpretability becomes more important than historicity, and the prey is relinquished for the shadow, art-objects seem to split into, on the one hand, a *gegenstana,* the artifact as indeterminable, mere ob-stance of the interpreting mind; and, on the other, a prehensile corpus of explanations incited by art's ipseity."

—Geoffrey H. Hartman
The Fate of Reading,
U. of Chicago Press

Odds and Ends

—How goes the Bicentenary (*cont.*)? Some 160,000 persons attended the April 19 bicentennial observances in Concord and Lexington featuring President Ford. Officials had expected as many as 350,000.

—A young Vietnamese named Nguyen Ai Quac wrote to Secretary of State Robert Lansing on June 18, 1919: "We count on your great kindness to honor our appeal by your support. Since the victory of the Allies, all subject peoples are frantic with hope at the prospect of an era of right and justice, which should begin for them." Nguyen Ai Quac is known to history as Ho Chi Minh. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Sticks & Stones

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: The question—"How much autonomy does a Catholic organization enjoy—if, indeed, any?" [News & Views, March 28] is not open. Vatican II closed it with these words: "No project, however, may claim the name 'Catholic' unless it has obtained the consent of the lawful Church authority." (Decree on the Laity) TIMOTHY A. MITCHELL

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: "News & Views" of the March 28 issue contained two examples of careless journalism in "Winsome Waugh" and "Odds and Ends." Neither the modern liturgical movement nor Vatican II has set forth, as an objective of liturgical reform, the entertainment of English country gentlemen. *Commonweal*'s identification of Waugh's snobbery as "astringency," a quality, I believe, reserved for reasoned argumentation, is an adulation expressive of the same "reptilian" character which Waugh deplores.

The easy analogy made between the *St. Louis Review*'s opposition to the ERA Amendment and opposition to the Child Labor Amendment is lazy argumentation, more specifically, guilt by association. Any opposition to legislation affecting family life can be called reminiscent of opposition to the Child Labor Amendment and accordingly dismissed. This technique is dealt with in sophomore debate manuals. Instead of drawing out and testing the analogy, *Commonweal* simply asserts the analogy and then labels those who disagree with it as "inane."

If the intent of "News & Views" is the creation of a pithy journalism in which other practitioners of the art are caught in their own snares, it would be better to do just that, rather than to commit new blunders. *Commonweal*'s opinions seem better expressed in discourse, rather than compressed into labels. WILLIAM J. MONAHAN

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AFTER VIETNAM

Twenty years of American military intervention in Vietnam are over. A new and nobler chapter in our history remains to be written.

Noting the end of the war, President Ford appealed for national unity and called for "a great national reconciliation." "I ask all Americans to close ranks," he said, "to avoid recrimination about the past, to look ahead to the many goals we share and to work together on the great tasks that remain to be accomplished." Obviously, there is much to be said for this Ford approach, but there is also a real danger that it means only sweeping our past sins under the rug. Vietnam was a tragic lesson, and it is essential that we learn from it, and that our leaders in the future be men who see the errors of the past. On this score it is not encouraging to note that right up to the last minute Mr. Ford and his Secretary of State continued to blame the Democrats in Congress, the Russians, the Chinese, almost anyone who came to mind for the debacle we suffered. Still unresolved are the implications of the Nixon secret pledges to reintroduce American military power if needed to save the Thieu regime, pledges which may well have contributed to Saigon's fatal overconfidence and failure to negotiate. We do indeed need to formulate new policies in the light of events in Southeast Asia, but this requires less the putting of Vietnam behind us than learning from it.

In this connection it is also not reassuring that President Ford since the end in Vietnam seems to be conceiving of national health primarily in military terms. Thus in his recent remarks at the commissioning of the new nuclear aircraft carrier *U.S.S. Nimitz* he said: "We are strong, we will continue to be strong. . . . To all, this great ship is visible evidence of our commitment to friends and allies and our capability to maintain these commitments." What about other kinds of commitments? Is the need for more

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and more military strength really the lesson to be learned from Vietnam? In no sense should this be taken to suggest some kind of American retreat into blind isolationism—quite the contrary. It does mean to argue that America's role should not be thought of so predominantly in military terms. In recent years the United States made the mistake of thinking that there were no limits to our power, that we could usefully intervene with military and diplomatic strength here, there and everywhere. We know now that this is not so, but this knowledge does not mean that we should pursue only domestic goals while we let the rest of the world go hang. Nations too have moral responsibilities, and great nations more than most.

To begin with, right now we have responsibilities toward Vietnam and the Vietnamese people. We cannot simply walk away from them. This is true of the country we helped to destroy as well as the refugees. At this point the future path of the victors in Vietnam is clouded in doubt. Nonetheless, the United States should be thinking in terms of a positive approach to the new regime. If we can live in peace with the Soviet Union and Communist China, can we not do the same with Vietnam? The devastation in that land is great, and United States power played a great role in bringing that ruin about. Should we not now think in terms of humanitarian aid to the poor Vietnamese people, regardless of what we think of the regime under which they live? And might not such an approach prove more effective simply as a foreign policy move than our previous policy of military intervention?

As for the Vietnamese refugees in this country, there should be no question of our national duty in their regard. How shamed one must feel at newspaper reports of widespread hostility toward the refugees since they have arrived in this country. One can put the matter in the best light possible, citing high unemployment rates, worries about the future and the like, but such an attitude of rejection is morally repulsive. Even if one left aside our national part in creating the refugees—which cannot be done—what has become of the American tradition of openness to those in need? This country has always accepted immigrants, and most recently took in 700,000 Cuban refugees from Castro and successfully assimilated them, as indeed we have always assimilated newcomers in our 200-year national history. The Vietnamese who have arrived in the U.S. represent a fraction of 1 percent of our national work force, and many of them have relatives here to help them. If we fail in our duty to them, it will only compound our national shame. Much as some Americans would like to close the book on Vietnam once and for all, we have moral responsibilities to that nation and to its people which we cannot ignore.

NEXT ISSUE: James O'Gara reports on a fact-finding trip to the Middle East

WASHINGTON REPORT

THE ROAD TO HELL IS PAVED . . .

. . . with good intentions.

America meant well, runs the choric refrain of the unrepentant and the repentant—those who were "in" at the takeoff, but not at the crash landing. All alike in their full-dress pieties on behalf of forgetfulness about "Vietnam." All alike in their apprehensions about being found out as vainglorious and wrong. Each a Polonius of the defunct Cold War.

Our colleague down the street, Mr. von Hoffman, Peck's bad boy of the *Washington Post,* suggested the other day in a column a counter-offensive: "Yes, recriminations. Lots of them."

He's off his rocker, too— as Mr. von Hoffman himself would write, with his special grace of understatement, about those with whom he disagrees. His recent columns overwrought, unlike the ones of his earlier years, recall someone's definition of exaggeration: truth that has lost its temper. . . Whatever—the time is not for recriminations. A lefty Joe McCarthy, that von Hoffman's recriminations might spawn, is no more welcome eight months away from a presidential election year than a rightie. But analysis, postmortems would do nicely, thank-you. One is almost tempted to say "autopsy."

After the second World War, there was a popular movie named "You Can't Go Home Again." Now, there's been another war for Americans. The 56,000 American servicemen killed in Indochina can't come home again, either. Nor can the four dead Kent college students. The good money poured after bad can't be retrieved. The administrations of six Presidents can no longer be fully and fairly recorded without reference to their responsibility for our Thirty Years' War in Southeast Asia, a war we waged both by proxy and in place. Let us care for the Vietnamese orphaned, adults as well as children, that President Ford has

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chosen to bring by American express to the continental United States. But without trying to stretch a point, Americans can be historically and intellectually orphaned, too—unless their political leaders, hopefully with restraint, seek to explain the whys and wherefores of our bloody excursions not only into Southeast Asia but also into Asia, as a whole, during the last 75 years or more.

It's not certain, however, that the American people will be informatively instructed. (It may be they know more than their leaders. We'll find that out in the presidential year.) The President, after parading for a week in sackcloth and ashes, has reversed himself and is now wordily proclaiming that Indochina was only a bruise and dashed to Norfolk, Virginia, one recent Saturday to dedicate a new $700-million aircraft carrier three times the length of a football field. He talks publicly about "unity" and putting the past behind us, as if it were simply a fender-bender auto collision. However, in the grog shops around town, his men after working hours talk about "political recriminations" being launched during next year's campaigns. Privately, Democrats and dissident Republicans in the Congress express fear that this will occur. A President giving the Congress hell for not "fulfilling America's obligation to the South Vietnamese people" has access by radio and television to an incomparably wider market than does his political opposition in the Congress—individually or collectively. Consequently, members of Congress, whatever their differing private opinions, are inclined to buy the President's pig-in-a-poke of unity and no recriminations this year in hopes that somehow it will turn out to be a genuine article.

Meanwhile, few are suggesting how to avoid another Vietnam. Those who are speaking publicly are inclined to the view that our policy there didn't work. This is what most in positions of public or private leadership are suggesting, that the policy didn't work—not that it shouldn't have been instituted in the first place. They're the same persons who publicly ascribe Watergate to an overzealous President, rather than to what the genuine motivation was—an effort to substantially alter de facto and by stealth and sometimes not by stealth the Constitutional basis of the nation.

Americans may learn to distrust presidential heroics, but, if they do, it will be a lesson self-taught, not taught by those who have an obligation to teach such a lesson.

The President and most members of Congress see a short-term political interest for themselves in declining to do any serious re-analysis of our foreign-policy objectives. The President is trying to quiet the right-wing lions in his party; internationalist liberals in the Congress, mostly Democrats but some Republicans, too, are most reluctant to face up to the flaws in their preachings for the last 30 years. Those in Congress with presidential aspirations are burdened with an added restraint. They balk at reassessing the presidency with a view to adding restraints to its foreign-policy authority because someday each of them hopes to become President. They refuse to acknowledge Patrick Henry's observation that the "Presidency squints toward Monarchy."

If anyone doubts this, let him simply listen to the observations of a senior senator, who himself admits to having given a succession of Presidents their heads in foreign affairs. Back when Harry Truman was President, as the senator relates it, a guest at a White House evening function simply drove to the White House, parked his own car, walked in the front door and immediately saw President and Mrs. Truman standing there directly greeting each arrival. When General Dwight Eisenhower became President, he introduced the aide system. White House staff parked guests' cars and military aides conducted guests to the President and Mrs. Eisenhower. During Camelot, guests entered the White House and then waited, assembled, until President and Mrs. Kennedy descended a staircase to the tune of "Hail to the Chief," after which they met their guests. Layers of ornamental procedures, the senator continued, were added during the Johnson and Nixon administrations, including, during the latter's administration, military aides dressed like soldiers in a Victor Herbert comic opera. The newspaper reporters loved it. And it appealed to the elitist academic community, where there's a lot of repenting to be done.

One can imagine Patrick Henry walking out on the whole scene. The senator said he wishes now that he had.

Recently, a syndicated columnist, a client of Presidents, accused one senator of being "didactic" toward President Ford during a meeting between the Foreign Relations Committee and the President at the White House. The senator probably was. But who died and made this President, any President, God? The Constitution, not Emily Post, should govern.

What's needed these days is a few above-board shoot-outs in the political corral, between the President and members of Congress. Not second-hand shoot-outs via paid press agents of the contestants, or by separate appearances in the muffled broadcasting studios where the pablum of the Sunday panel shows is dispensed. Not at all. What's needed is direct talks across the tables at the White House and in the congressional committee rooms.

These encounters would be a good cleansing agent by which Congress can render to the presidency the things that are the presidency's—including foreign policy administration and formulation—and the President can render (*restore*, actually) unto the Congress the things that are the Congress's—including monitoring of foreign policy operations and a summoning of Presidents to periodic accountings of their stewardship in this area.

Keep tuned.

SISYPHUS

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OUR SEARCH FOR ROOTS: II

ABIGAIL McCARTHY

In *A Need for Roots*, Simone Weil expressed her fear about what the inevitable influence of America might do to post-World War II Europe. She thought of us as a nation of the uprooted, united only by material values and sharing no common moral or spiritual heritage. In this she was wrong. But when we insist on a separatism of blood lines and background and ask only for a community of economic and political opportunity we are taking the same point of view. It is an attitude which James Baldwin questioned by inversion on the eve of returning from his European exile:

> "Am I afraid of returning to America? Or am I afraid of journeying any further with myself? . . . the question of color, especially in this country, operates to hide the graver questions of the self . . . But my own experience proves to me that the connection between American whites and American blacks is far deeper and more passionate than any of us likes to think."

The very dark in our common experience unites us. Now in the dismal aftermath of Vietnam, we may indeed be divided, we may want to stress our differences, but the rest of the world sees us one. "The Americans" they say in Vietnam and Cambodia whether in reproach or despair or longing; "the Americans" they write in editorials in Rome and London and Stockholm. "The Americans" are assailed in India, in Africa, in Moscow and Peking. The children left behind are the children of Americans: whether black or white does not seem a crucial difference. We are one in our collective shame and relief, no matter how much we try to blame each other, no matter how we try to fix past blame.

It shows in curious ways. In relation to non-Americans Americans are very like. "Yes, it was a waste," said the black sergeant, veteran of Vietnam, to the TV questioner. But, yes, he thought he could explain it to his son, that his son would understand "because I can tell him how it was to be there, not that he can know it the way I did." Would he have fought it differently? Well, he had thoughts about the difficulty of fighting with "them." "They're different from us, you know. They'd lie right down and go to sleep in the afternoon—with a war to fight." He could not have done that—he had been an American with a job to do.

Expatriates and soldiers abroad have often been acute at sensing this likeness—or better, these likenesses. Gertrude Stein, in her inimitable writing about America for non-Americans, wrestled with the peculiarly American concept so much a part of that black soldier from Omaha:

> ". . . this thing is an essentially American thing this sense of a space of time and what is to be done within this space of time. I am always trying to tell this thing that a space of time is a natural thing for an American to always have inside them as something within which they are continuously moving. Think of anything, of cowboys, or movies, or detective stories, of anybody who goes anywhere or stays at home and is an American and you will realize that it is something strictly American to conceive a space that is filled with moving, a space of time that is filled always filled with moving."
>
> (*Gertrude Stein's America* ed., Gilbert Harrison)

Those of us who opposed the war will, in later years, also try to tell how it was: how it was in Chicago in '68, how it was at the Pentagon, at Kent State, at the Moratorium, on Mayday. We were Americans, forming committees, organizing, organizing—somebody going over the contributors' list, somebody getting the speakers, somebody getting the permits, even somebody seeing to the "comfort stations."

> "Don't you understand the difference, she used to say angrily, any two americans, any twenty americans, any millions of americans can organize themselves to do anything . . ."
>
> (Stein)

We have come through a civil war of purpose and opinion, but it was an American experience.

Concepts like these of work and time and combined effort are built into the self so subtly that we are hardly aware of them. So, too, is our sense of space and the possibility of physical mobility—the fruit of being born in a land whose geography extends this promise. We are shaped by the American sky, the navigable rivers, the horse crossing the plain, the railroad, the automobile, the plane. The restless sound of the train whistle at night sounds through American literature. "Why do the Americans not stay on forever," she asked the painter Sayen in Paris. "Oh he said because one of them says I am going."

These aspects of character, these sensory images of our country, of which we are not conscious, often override our conscious definitions of self. We are shaped by place and experience. An Italian who grew up on the shore of one of the gray Great Lakes, a Pole used to the bare Los Angeles hills will find his eye unsatisfied in the country of his fathers.

Even our angers and our discontents have their source in common

(*Continued on page 159*)

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PORTUGAL AT THE CROSSROADS

STEVEN PHILIP KRAMER

Its future will not be determined in Lisbon alone

On 25 April 1975, one year after the Movement of the Armed Forces overthrew the Caetano regime, the Portuguese voted for a Constituent Assembly. Although the Assembly's powers are strictly limited by a charter imposed on the parties by the Movement, the elections are certainly important in judging the attitude of the population. The results show an unmistakable desire to move towards a "socialist" regime, but one which would not sacrifice political democracy. This is certainly the reason why the Socialists received three times as many votes as the Communists.

But the future of Portugal will not be decided by compact parliamentary majorities. The popular support that went to the socialists and to the center-left Popular Democrats is not matched by a proportional organizational strength. The Communist Party is far stronger organizationally, and has much closer relations with the Movement. The Communists would certainly not object if the military dispersed the representatives of "bourgeois democracy" just as Lenin dispersed the Constituent Assembly following the November Revolution. And this might well happen if the leaders of the Socialists and Popular Democrats demand a political role commensurate with their electoral strength.

But Portugal's future will not be determined in Lisbon alone. It will be decided in Washington and Moscow as well, and the way the two superpowers are acting bodes ill for the future of democracy in Portugal.

Few Americans know anything about Portugal. It's just because of the lack of public or congressional awareness that the executive in general and the Secretary of State in particular have been given a free hand. Just look at how the Portuguese situation developed, and then consider the effects of our foreign policy on Portugal today.

For almost half a century Portugal lived under the dictatorship of an other-worldly ascetic, Salazar. The Salazar regime consciously attempted to prevent the political awakening of the country by keeping it backward economically. "Football, Fatima, and Fado" were the three pillars of the regime, but in the background lurked the notorious PIDE, the secret police. It is said that on hearing of the discovery of oil in Angola, Salazar remarked: "That will ruin everything." Salazar couldn't prevent all economic development, but forced it into monopolistic and archaic forms.

Salazar's successor, Caetano, might have been able to liberalize the regime. But he feared the threat of the extreme right, and lost his chance. The colonial wars of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau created a generation of young officers who became convinced that the only way to end an impossible war was to end the regime itself. The unsuspecting Caetano was overthrown on 25 April 1974. The clandestine Movement of the Armed Forces became the government of Portugal. It promised to turn Portugal into a democracy.

The Portuguese military surprised the world by making a revolution in the name of democracy. They continued to amaze it by expressing their belief in socialism, and by their close cooperation with the Communist Party. It must be remembered that the colonial war resulted in a vast expansion of the army. The need for a growing number of officers meant that the regime had to make use of university graduates in large numbers. These former students had been exposed to radical ideas at the universities, and were not automatic supporters of the regime the way the old officer corps might have been. By fighting a large-scale war in Africa the Old Regime was digging its own grave.

At the time of the revolution, there was only one organized political party in Portugal, the Communist Party. Since the abolition of parties in 1926, the C.P. had survived underground, publishing its newspaper and training new generations of militants. Thus they were able to face up to the new situation immediately. Moreover, the Communists had preponderant influence over much of the industrial working class, the only easily organizable mass political base, albeit a small one. The strength of the Communists and the radical ideas of many of the officers resulted in a special relationship. The Communists were determined to stay close to the military, to learn from the Chilean débâcle. Thus, they adopted a prudent course at first, trying to limit strikes,

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avert inflation, and avoid a panic by the middle-class. At the same time, they increased their power within the Movement and within the country. But the Communists were always aware that 25 April was a revolution from above. Their primary concern was to maintain good relations with the Movement.

The leftwards course of Portuguese politics took place in several stages.

The Movement had named General Spinola head of the Provisional Government. But it soon came into conflict with him over the colonial issue, which dominated the first months of the new regime. Spinola was a federalist; the more radical officers were in favor of complete independence. The resignation of the first Prime Minister, Palma Carlos, a moderate jurist, was the occasion for a confrontation. Spinola's federalist program was rejected, as was his plan to hold presidential elections before parliamentary in order to increase his own power base. Santos Goncalves came in as Prime Minister, and Spinola himself went on television on 27 July to declare his support for colonial independence. Recognizing the weakness of his position, Spinola made the mistake of appealing to the "silent majority," a code word for the demoralized right that was just beginning to creep out of the woodwork. Whether Spinola was behind an apparent plot by the extreme right, or whether it was trying to use his name to gain legitimacy is unclear. What is clear is that the Movement was unwilling to allow a return to the Old Regime. Spinola was ousted. The Movement continued its leftward course.

With the colonial issue more or less solved, attention shifted to the future of Portugal itself. The Movement had created a Program of the Armed Forces which did not propose basic changes in the social and economic system. These would have to be the work of the Constituent Assembly, the Movement explained. But the Movement's support for this liberal democratic solution soon disappeared.

The Communist blitzkrieg in Portugal resembles what happened in Western Europe after the Liberation from the Nazis. There too, the Communists had been better organized during the Resistance than the other parties, and were the only political force really active at first. But the rapid Communist advance led to a re-emergence of the other parties. Because of the strength of the middle classes in the advanced countries, and because of the hold of social-democracy over large numbers of the European working class, the Communists' gains were confined.

In Portugal, however, the middle class is weak, as is the case in all backward nations. In that respect, Portugal is closer to the Third World than to Western Europe. Social-democracy has no real tradition among a relatively unskilled working class. Thus the Socialists are really radical democrats with social concerns, and the Popular Democrats, led by progressive businessmen and technocrats, are spokesmen for a European-oriented middle class which doesn't yet really exist. The support of these parties is undefined and inchoate; they lack the disciplined phalanx of supporters that the Communist Party has. What can parliamentary democracy mean to the peasantry of a backward nation, or to a small working class seeking immediate change? If these parties could offer the prospect of economic development backed by America and the Common Market, their position would be stronger. But Europe seems unable to assert itself as a political entity, and the United States has been resolutely hostile to the Portuguese revolution.

Polarization

The weakness of the center explains the tendency towards polarization. This tendency was largely actualized in March by the abortive Spinola coup. This coup must have convinced many members of the Movement that there was no choice other than a clearly leftist regime or a return to Salazarism. The Movement abandoned the Program of the Armed Forces, declared itself to be in favor of socialism, nationalized the banks, and institutionalized its own power by turning the Constituent Assembly into little more than a debating society. The unitary trade union movement was maintained, thereby guaranteeing monopolistic Communist domination of the working class. The Movement clearly feared that the creation of a parliamentary regime based on the center-left would move quickly to the right, given the social vacuum represented by these parties.

The Communists attempted to profit from the situation by implicating the other parties as morally responsible for the Spinola coup. Unable to prevent elections entirely, the Communist Party downgraded their importance, realizing how embarrassing the results might be to them. They also were able to suppress their competitors on the extreme-left. The Communists have begun to act as if they were the authorized political spokesmen for the Movement. Thus, after the elections, they warned the Socialists to cooperate lest they find themselves in opposition to the Movement. In fact, the C.P. would be perfectly willing to accept a Peruvian-style military regime, so long as they would be included. They are perfectly ready to write off any form of "bourgeois democracy."

It is unclear exactly how much influence the Communist Party has within the Movement. The close relations between the military and the party can be explained by positing Communist domination of the Movement. It is far more likely, however, that the major reason is the Communists' apology for the governmental ambitions of the military, ambitions that are opposed by all the other parties.

The tendency towards polarization has been encouraged by the policies of the U.S. and the USSR.

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On 10 April the *Washington Post* reported that Kissinger had severely criticized Ambassador Carlucci's support for "a measure of understanding for the military leaders who are attempting deep social and economic reforms, with Communist cooperation. A similar recommendation from Carlucci's predecessor, Stuart Nash Scott led to his dismissal late last year." Kissinger aired his doubts as to whether Portugal can remain in NATO. Such a position can mean only one thing—an indication that the United States would welcome a coup by the right. Although there is no proof that the U.S. was behind Spinola's attempt, it is clear that Kissinger would have welcomed it. Such American intransigence drives the military closer to the Soviet Union.

The policies of the Soviet Union have also tended towards polarizing the situation. Moscow seems determined to move in its usual heavy-handed fashion to use the Portuguese Communist Party's influence to obtain a naval base in the Atlantic. Moscow's policy has been followed unquestioningly by what is doubtless the most pro-Moscow and Stalinist Communist movement of significance in Western Europe. The obvious indifference of the Communists to political democracy has been causing near-panic in the Spanish and Italian Communist Parties. In Italy, the P.C.I. has worked for years to find acceptance within the national framework. Its relative autonomy from Moscow, its acceptance of NATO, its obvious competence, have reinforced its demand for a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats as a means of clearing up the economic and social imbroglio in Italy. In Spain, the Communists have been pushing for a broad front of parties that could provide a replacement for the franquist regime. The efforts of these two parties, the most independent of Moscow, have been sabotaged by the behavior of the Portuguese Communists. It is highly significant that when the leader of the clandestine Spanish Communist Party visited Portugal it was as a guest of the Socialists. He left Portugal without seeing the head of the Portuguese Communists.

One gets the impression that Moscow will go for broke in Portugal. If it wins, it wins big. If it loses, it's the old story of two steps forward, one step back. And if in the process, it sabotages the efforts at independence of the Spanish and Italian Communist Parties, so much the better. Their task is not to promote social progress in Spain or Italy, but to promote the foreign interests of the Soviet Union.

Portugal's economic situation is not good. She needs assistance in checking the 34 percent inflation rate bequeathed by Caetano, as well as for long-term programs of industrial development and irrigation. If Portugal is unable to solve her short-term problems, economic disintegration will accelerate the trend towards total polarization.

Portugal faces a series of unpleasant prospects. A military dictatorship including the Communist Party would find itself cut off from credits from the West, without which modernization and an improved standard of living would be impossible. The situation would resemble Castro's Cuba. In exchange for the loss of civil liberties, there would be an ineffective and heavy-handed state socialism. Russia has not solved her agrarian problem; she certainly can't solve Portugal's.

Yet Portugal would not be likely to do any better through a rightist coup. The Greek colonels received two billion dollars from the United States, but proved no asset to Greek economic development or social justice. Nor would a rightist regime establish the preconditions for political democracy—any more than Salazar did.

A third possibility—one hardly mentioned—is a Peruvian-style military regime without the Communists. There has been some talk by members of the Movement of establishing a political party which accurately reflects the point of view of the Movement. The Communists certainly don't appreciate such suggestions, which would in essence mean their elimination. It is hard to see how Portugal would benefit from such a regime, however.

"Destabilization" of the Portuguese economy can take place by omission as well as by commission. Without sufficent aid from the West or from the World Bank, the Portuguese economy might well collapse, leading the way to political disaster. Would this be in the interest of the United States?

A policy of benign neglect or intransigent opposition is contrary to American interests. We must recognize the inevitability and desirability of basic social and economic reforms, and assist the Movement in accomplishing them. American aid with no strings attached will strengthen the position of those within the Movement favoring a maximum of democracy, and will also strengthen the position of the Socialists and Popular Democrats in any coalition situation. Each time the U.S. expresses its doubts concerning the Movement, it weakens its own position in Portugal.

We spent 150 billion dollars in Vietnam. Half a billion spent in Portugal on programs of economic development might not only make life tolerable—for the first time—for the peasant and worker, but might also make possible a democratic evolution of the political situation.

Portugal is half way between Europe and the Third World. It provides a test of whether the United States can bring its vast resources and expertise to bear on the problems of the Third World. For only America has the capacity to bring about the modernization of the Third World, in ways beneficial to both the Third World and the United States.

Portugal is a test of our ability to take a new and positive direction in world affairs in the post-Vietnam, post-Watergate era.

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KUNG'S BRUSH WITH ROME

ADOLPH SCHALK

Was the monitum a slap on the wrist?

The long-awaited declaration by the Sacred Congregation of the Faith against the well-known Swiss theologian, Father Hans Küng, plopped on February 20th, not like a bombshell but like an egg shell. In the main, observers regard the kid glove character of the *monitum* as an overwhelming victory for the controversial dogma professor and ecumenist at West Germany's Tübingen University. It completely avoided anything suggesting excommunication or any other disciplinary measure, such as prohibition to write or publish further works, and did not even ask him to recant those theses which it admonished him to avoid henceforth.

"These declarations have refuted nothing that I have theologically established," the embattled Küng said in an interview on West German TV. "The declaration of the Roman Faith Congregation is rather a public admission that the secret proceedings against me have proven to be unfeasible and now had to be discontinued. Such inquisitorial proceedings contradict the Gospel, human rights and the spirit of the 'Holy Year of Reconciliation'!"

After investigating Küng's works for nearly seven years, the Congregation singled out Küng's widely-discussed opinions on the dogma of infallibility of the pope, on the Church and on the Eucharist. The declaration admonished him and his followers to stop teaching on the disputed points, and critically to review both the method and content of their theology and to propagate the "true doctrine" of the Church.

It is difficult to understand just how the Congregation is able to define "true doctrine" so clearly, and on what basis it proceeded against Küng. The Congregation justifies its action by stressing the *regula fidei*, rule of faith, the body of Catholic truths supposedly unchanged and unchangeable, with whose guidance the Congregation claims to distinguish between true and false teaching.

But throughout the centuries this rule has in fact undergone frequent and even drastic alterations. Just to give one example: The doctrine of the unattainability of eternal life for pagans, Jews and heretics solemnly defined by the Council of Florence (1438-45) was completely annulled by Vatican II, which declared that salvation is open to all men everywhere.

The proceedings against Küng, who had served as *peritus* for the German bishops participating in the Second Vatican Council, were prompted by two of his books, *The Church* (1967) and *Infallible? An Inquiry* (German original, 1970). The chief thesis under fire is Küng's claim that no papal pronouncement is totally free from the possibility of error but that the pope's authority is best described as "indefectible"—i.e. it is the Church *as a whole* which is upheld in truth despite occasional lapses into error in particular instances and by particular individuals.

An earlier declaration issued by the Faith Congregation in 1973, without mentioning Küng by name, *Mysterium Ecclesiae*, warned that "whoever professes such opinions, unless he retracts them, finds himself automatically outside the Church."

Küng's close friend and mentor, Karl Rahner, S.J., in a bristling review of the infallibility book in the Jesuit monthly *Stimmen der Zeit* charged Küng with contradicting Catholic theology in its entirety "at least since the Reformation." Professor Gustav Ermecke of the University of Bochum categorically stated that Hans Küng "is no longer Catholic and cannot be regarded as such." The Conference of German Catholic Bishops, who were the ones to be entrusted with the release of the communiqué announcing the Faith Congregation's *monitum* at their annual meeting in Bad Honnef, for a long time were indecisive in passing judgment on Küng's works. After studying the infallibility book for six months they commented laconically, "Several fundamental elements of the Catholic understanding of Faith and the Church are not upheld in this book."

Indeed, the mildness of the present *monitum* is largely attributed to the intervention of the German bishops, notably Julius Cardinal Doepfner, Archbishop of Munich and chairman of the German Bishops' Conference. Much of the credit for the softened stand may also be attributed to the joint appeal made by 1,350 theology professors from more than 53 countries that the Holy Office drop proceedings against Küng and discuss the issue on a scholarly level in a context of "freedom of

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theology." In addition, more than 20,000 Swiss lay Catholics signed a petition to the Congregation stating that Küng be treated with justice and impartiality. He thus was spared the fate of other theologians who were given the hard-line treatment just months earlier. The former Dominican Stephan Pfürtner (*Commonweal*, Aug. 23, 1974) was driven to resignation from his post as theology professor at the University of Fribourg by the restrictions imposed on his teaching on sexual morality. And Father Karl Rahner's successor at the University of Innsbruck, Jesuit Father Franz Schupp, was condemned for his interpretation of the creation.

Several months ago, the president and vice-president of the Swiss Bishops' Conference, Most Rev. Nestor Adam of Sion and Most Rev. Anton Haenggi of Basel (Küng's "home" bishops) took off for Rome in Küng's behalf. In a joint statement read over Vatican Radio the two bishops said they were told Küng had been informed he could bring his own defense counsel with him and that he had in his possession all the pertinent documents. Küng rejoined that they had been "deceived" in Rome and that their statement was "seriously misleading" to the Swiss public.

Meanwhile the Swiss bishops have publicly supported the Vatican admonition. In so doing, they are in effect contradicting the recommendations which they adopted at the General Swiss Synod in February 1974 in regard to the teaching office and theological research: "In any case the one concerned ought to have the right at doctrinal proceedings to choose his own defense and to inspect all records." Then the diocesan synod of Basel on June 16, 1974, referring to the above resolutions, passed the following decree:

"Such proceedings, which are not in accordance with these conditions, and thereby not in accordance with human rights (UN Charter, Art. 10 and 11) and all the more a possible conviction ensuing from such proceedings, contribute to an intensified polarity in our Church, endanger the credibility of ecclesiastical authority and put an added burden on the ministerial office and on ecumenical cooperation.

"The questions raised by Professor Küng are not simply problems which he himself created; rather they affect a wide public. He was simply the one to have taken them up and to have put them up for discussion. The problems such questions evoke can only be solved in an open dialogue, and not by a mere unilateral show of power."

Küng was backed by the Tübingen canon law professor J. Neumann, who condemned the secret proceedings of the Faith Congregation (which has yet to live down the reputation of its historic predecessor, the Inquisition), without the right of self-defense, as a "modernized inquisition" in an article in the West German newsweekly *Der Spiegel*, entitled, "As in Moscow."

The real danger now is that dust will be allowed to settle on the Faith Congregation's investigation of Küng's works and that the inquisitorial practices of this and countless other cases will continue unchecked. The Congregation knows only too well that a severe disciplinary measure against Küng would have unleashed an international furor and possibly even caused serious division in the Church. But what is to stop them from harassing lesser-known theologians who can be circumscribed with impunity? It is a highly questionable sense of justice when a Church demands for itself religious freedom from nations and at the same time rigorously curtails this freedom within its own domain.

The unflappable Father Küng has made it publicly known that the "praise-with-faint-damnation" censure by the Faith Congregation will make absolutely no difference whatever regarding his freedom to teach according to his conscience. "I will not tolerate," he has said, "being prevented from pursuing my theological service to my fellow man." He has of course taken great pains to show that he takes very seriously the Congregation's admonition critically to review both the method and content of his teaching and writing. He has repeatedly assured Franjo Cardinal Seper, director of the Sacred Congregation for the Faith, that he would gladly withdraw his theses if good reasons for so doing were demonstrated. (Cardinal Seper, according to the respected progressive Swiss monthly *Offene Kirche*, reportedly once observed, "There is nothing in the Gospel about human rights.")

Küng insists that in all the years of the investigation procedure he was never granted the privilege of appointing his own counsel for the Rome hearings, which he flatly refused to attend for this reason. He charged that he was never given the right to examine the files of his case and that the Congregation secretly appointed the Benedictine Father Magnus Lohrer as his defender without his knowledge or consent. (Lohrer, in fact, is himself progressive and pro-Küng, but there is a principle at stake.)

Some observers even see in the mildness of the Faith Congregation admonition an international tactic to slap a heavier disciplinary measure against Küng at some later date. After a lapse of time they could point to Küng's failure to take the *monitum* seriously as a justifiable argument to penalize him severely. It is believed that Archbishop Jerome Hamer, the Faith Congregation's executive secretary, is pressing for sterner measures against Küng. Ironically, he once gave a copy of Küng's book *The Church* to a friend as a present back in the days when Küng was not yet *enfant terrible* at the Vatican.

But there is in effect very little the Congregation can do. Only two options are open to them. They can withdraw the *missio canonica*, a priest's permission to teach theology. But since Küng enjoys tenure at the University of Tübingen, a secular institution, he cannot be dismiss-

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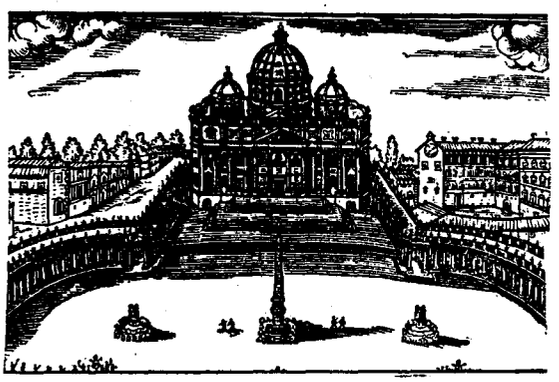
ed. At most he would have to give up teaching seminarians. Or, they can suspend or excommunicate him. But such drastic steps would surely create more problems for the Congregation than they could solve.

What Küng has going for him more than anything else is his impeccable reputation as a devoted priest and loyal son of the Church. Cardinal Doepfner, as he read the statement containing the Faith Congregation's *monitum* at a press conference, was downright apologetic. "This admonition," he said emphatically, "in no way reflects on the overall integrity of Professor Küng as a priest and theologian." Reporters inevitably raise the question of laicization or formal withdrawal from the Church in their interviews with Küng, to which he always replies with a firm, unequivocal, "No."

Hans Küng defies easy classification. He has been called everything from a dangerous radical to a modern Luther tidying up the unfinished business of the Reformation. Dr. Albert van den Heuvel, an official of the Dutch Reformed Church and former communications director at the World Council of Churches, sees Küng this way: "Confessionalism is dead. One can no longer say he believes in such-and-such because he is a member of such-and-such a confession. Hans Küng can be called a Reformed theologian in the Roman Catholic



Church and I mean that as a compliment. Others say the same thing, meaning it as a criticism. Another theologian might be called a Pentecostalist in the Roman Catholic Church. And the same holds true in reverse. Institutional churches may still officially hold hard and fast beliefs, but the movements within the churches are cutting across all confessional frontiers and destroying confessionalism."

In news stories Küng is usually tagged "progressive," but even this word requires elaboration. Many of Küng's confreres and students in Tübingen regard him, if anything, as downright conservative. "That is putting it mildly," one student said; "in some respects he is a Neanderthal Christian."

"The mere mention of 'theology of revolution,'" another Küng student has observed, "will drive him up the wall."

If the truth be known, Hans Küng eschews every form of free-wheeling adventurist theology. He squirms whenever he hears of using machine parts and cosmetics or a plexiglass chalice at an experimental Mass. And he revolts against a Mass text which might read, "Jesus, on the eve of his liquidation. . . ." If there is a word to describe Küng's theology it is restorative, not progressive, and it must above all be based on sound scholarship. Küng challenges the infallibility doctrine not because it is too orthodox but, rather, because it is not orthodox enough.

Küng's writings are often dismissed as "too journalistic" (and hence implying superficiality) by theologians blissfully unaware that their own writing as often as not sheds more obfuscation than light. Indeed, the simplicity, clarity and forceful style that characterize most of Küng's works account to a large extent for his immense popularity. But they do sometimes leave the highly unjustified impression that his writing flows as easily from his typewriter as water from a spring.

The American Michael Novak once wrote a book review of Küng's *The Church* with the comment that he did not see how one man could have done it. "Of all the criticism Küng received on that book," one of his former students has recalled, "that one really got him mad. Work is part of his secret. You can depend on it—every word he published, he writes himself."

Küng works like a colony of ants. From early morning until late at night on his non-class days, he will spend incredibly long hours writing and rewriting the text of a book chapter or article in long-hand. This in turn is typed and discussed night after night with his assistants and students, who act as his sounding board. But in the end the product is entirely his. One lay theologian recalls this incident: "Küng drove us so hard that I was totally oblivious to everything else but theology. One evening after final exams I was finally able to release pent-up tensions at a party where I met a pretty coed and asked her where she lived. 'Why,' she said, astonished, 'in the same boarding house you do!'"

Another false impression about Küng is his alleged aloofness from social issues. His seminars are studded with such burning topics as liberation movements, counter-culture, Zen Buddhism, Catholic Pentecostalism, Freud, Jung, Max Weber, racism, abortion, neo-Marxism, minorities. But for Küng all social reform will come to naught if in the end man loses sight of his spiritual destiny. This is stressed throughout his newest book, *Christ Sein* (Being a Christian), which has been No. 2 bestseller (next to Solzehnitsyn's *Archipel Gulag II*) on the German market for months. "Being a Christian is not primarily a matter of Christian teaching or doctrine but Christian conduct, being, implementation . . . the business of Jesus is the business of God in the world. It has become fashionable today that Jesus' greatest concern is man. True enough. But Jesus is so totally concerned about man because in the first place he is concerned about God's plan in the world."

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And precisely here is the great danger of the Church, that it isolates itself at once from both God and man because it has not only fallen behind the times but behind its mission. "Wherever the Church exercises power over men instead of serving them, wherever her institutions, laws and teachings become an end in themselves . . . she will end in a crisis."

In his book Küng stresses that he regards his theology not as the work of an "outsider" but of one "writing in solidarity with his community, bound to its great tradition, obliged to its leaders and teachers." If he is regarded as avant garde, then not as a maverick and always as the Christian community's loyal adherent. The last thing he wants is to propagate a "new" kind of Christianity. He wishes to restore not destroy, to recover not reject, to renew not abolish.

"What good," he says, "does it do to ask others to do something about overpopulation, if we as Christians are not prepared first of all to demand of the Church that it clarify its own thinking on the matter? The question of overpopulation is related to birth control, the question of birth control is related to traditional ecclesiastical teaching and traditional Catholic morality. And traditional ecclesiastical morality in turn is related to the authority of the teaching office. And this, it seems to me, has very much to do with the question of infallibility. So you see, by being concerned with infallibility, I am also concerned with the Third World.

"Others may find it best to work first from the periphery to the center. My concern is to proceed from the center of pristine Christian thought and proceed outwards. We are both working toward the same goal."

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY

THE REMAINING AGENDA

PHILIP S. KAUFMAN

Vatican Council II pointedly did not define anything

On March 4, 1974, the national Lutheran-Catholic dialogue issued a long awaited statement, "Papal Primacy/Converging Viewpoints." (*Origins*, Vol. 3, No. 38, March 14, 1974, 585-599.) Dialogue in the 1960s had produced substantial agreement on creed, baptism, eucharist, and ministry and orders. Only the papacy remained as a source of serious doctrinal difference. Now there are two problems involving the pope's role in the church: papal primacy which concerns the pope as ruler, and papal infallibility which concerns the pope as teacher. The dialogue explicitly limited its discussion to papal primacy, recognizing that papal infallibility is an issue still to be faced.

The outcome of the dialogue on papal primacy certainly justifies the choice which was made. However, that choice is surprising for two reasons. The controversy over Hans Küng's, *Infallible? An Inquiry*, made papal infallibility a very timely topic. But, even more significantly, the choice seemed to violate an established pattern, adopted in the dialogue, of moving from the easier problems to the more difficult. As long ago as 1930 Abbot Cuthbert Butler had written: "Though at the time of the council [Vatican I] it was infallibility that raised the greatest storms, alike outside the council and in, and still at this day is the great bugbear of the Protestant mind; I cannot help thinking that the matter of the primacy . . . in reality presents much greater difficulties to non-Catholics of all kinds. . . ." (E. Cuthbert Butler, *The Vatican Council*, [1930], II, 71.)

I asked one of the consultants to the dialogue how they happened to start with the more difficult subject. He thought they wanted to base their discussions on the bible. Since there is nothing explicit in the bible on papal infallibility, but a great deal which could involve primacy, that seemed to be the better choice.

Now there is a simple and yet conservative approach to the question of papal infallibility which has proved quite helpful in defusing the dogma as a problem in informal ecumenical dialogues. This is to return to Vatican I and seek to understand the dogma in the context of its actual definition. It should be noted that my concern is not with the infallibility of the church, but only with the infallibility of the pope. I am not concerned with the history of the origin of the doctrine, which Brian Tierney has traced to the spiritual Franciscans of the thirteenth century, but only with the immediate historical background and contemporary understanding of the dogma defined in the constitution *Pastor Aeternus*, July 18, 1870.

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Two elements are important for understanding the definition of 1870: the personality of Pius IX and the political situation in Italy which led to the fall of the Papal States.

The election of Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferritti, who took the name of Pius IX, was widely hailed as a victory for the forces of progress and reform. He was known to disapprove of the reactionary policies of his predecessor, Gregory XVI. He had supported the *risorgimento*, the movement for unification of all Italy into a single, national state. Liberal Catholics hoped that union would be achieved under the leadership of the papacy. Who better than Pius IX?

The revolution of 1848, the flight of the pope to Gaeta in the kingdom of Naples, and the proclamation of the Roman Republic by Mazzini quickly brought to an end the hope expressed by the great French Catholic layman, Ozanam, that Pius IX would bring about "the alliance of religion and liberty." Papal rule was restored in 1850 under a pope who saw liberty, liberalism, indeed all the principles of the French Revolution, as destructive of every social, moral and religious value. The leadership in the movement to unite Italy passed to the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia under the able, but anti-clerical, Cavour. The pope's refusal to grant political liberty to his own subjects played into the hands of the anti-clerical leaders of the *risorgimento*. In 1860 Cavour persuaded the inhabitants of the Romagna district of the Papal States to vote for annexation with Piedmont-Sardinia. The end of the temporal rule of the pope was at hand.

The "temporal power" of the pope as civil ruler of the Papal States had only existed since the "donation of Pepin" in 756. By the time of Pius IX the necessity of the temporal power had been elevated almost to the level of a "doctrine" supported by theological arguments. Pius IX and very many Catholics throughout the world viewed the gradual annexation of the pope's territory as an attack on the papacy and indeed on the church itself.

Nor can the personality of Pius IX be ignored. Butler writes of "the personal magnetism that by its charm and by its sorrows drew to Pius in an unprecedented degree the respect, affection, veneration of all Catholics." (II, 199) As the temporal power of the beloved pontiff declined, there developed a strong movement to exalt his spiritual power. This should be recognized as the powerful source of the movement to define papal infallibility.

To define a dogma from such motives was a departure from an almost completely consistent tradition—to define only in order to resolve grave conflicts. John Henry Newman wrote that "a council's proper office is, when some grave heresy or other evil impends, to inspire the faithful with hope and confidence." "When," he asked, "has definition of doctrine *de fide* been a luxury of devotion, and not a stern painful necessity?" (Butler, I, 212-13) (Of course, Pius IX had set a precedent for this new use of the defining power when in 1854 he had defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception as an act of devotion.)

It has become commonplace to line up the adversaries in great debates as progressives and conservatives or liberals and reactionaries. Recognizing the danger of such oversimplification, it is convenient to designate two parties, both inside and outside the council, the infallibilists and the inopportunists. The infallibilists, known to their contemporaries as neo-ultramontanists, fought for a strong definition. The inopportunists included those who opposed the doctrine of papal infallibility as well as those who accepted the doctrine but considered a definition inopportune. Lying between these two "parties," but with little influence on the debate, was the Gallican position, that a dogmatic decree of the pope becomes known to be infallible and irreformable because of the subsequent endorsement by the bishops. It need hardly be mentioned, except that the desire explicitly to reject it influenced the wording of the final decree.

The atmosphere both inside and outside the council has been described in detail by Abbot Butler. William George Ward, editor of the *Dublin Review*, held that the pope's "every doctrinal pronouncement is infallibly directed by the Holy Ghost." (Butler, I 73) In France, Louis Veuillot, editor of *Univers*, substituted the pope's name for God in the hymn at Nones of the Roman Breviary, *"Rerum Pius tenax vigor,"* and applied to Pius the words describing the Holy Spirit in the Sequence *Veni Sancte Spiritus*

"To Pius IX, Pontifex-King:
Father of the poor,
Giver of God's gifts,
Light of men's hearts,
From heaven direct on men
the rays of your light."

From an Italian source came the opinion that "when the pope thinks it is God who is thinking in him." (Butler, I, 76-7)

Such ideas were by no means limited to journalists. The bishop of Tulle referred to Pius as "the Incarnate Word continuing himself." The bishop of Lausanne, a future cardinal, preached on the three incarnations of the Son of God, "in the womb of a virgin, in the eucharist, and in the old man in the Vatican." Manning, archbishop of Westminster, the leading English-speaking infallibilist, spoke of the pope as the incarnation of the Holy Spirit and identified papal infallibility with "inspiration," an idea explicitly rejected in the final decree. Butler observes that "the excesses of the new ultramontanists . . . did exercise a profound influence on the atmosphere in which the council was held. It is to be understood that they were not the isolated extravagances of a few extremists." (I, 77)

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The position of the inopportunists can be summarized from observations of Dupanloup, bishop of Orleans. There was no necessity for defining. The issue had been raised at the Council of Trent, but was dropped by the pope to avoid division among the bishops. The definition would increase the obstacles to achieving unity with other Christians and unnecessarily antagonize governments. There were serious theological and historical problems as yet unresolved. (Hefele, the great church historian, was perhaps the most adamant of the opponents to definition.) And finally such a definition would lower the esteem of the bishops in the eyes of the faithful.

The position of the pope was interesting. Infallibility was not on the original agenda of the council. When it was introduced and the date of its discussion gradually advanced on the schedule, Pius seemed to take an entirely passive role, acquiescing in the activity which others promoted. However, this neutral attitude was not long maintained. According to a contemporary observer ". . . bishops who were disposed to adopt a neutral or moderate attitude find themselves sorely tried in a personal interview. They find it vain to declare their devotion or their sincerity. His holiness tells them plainly that they are not on his side; they are among his enemies; their loyalty is not sound. . . ." The pope sent letters of commendation to Ward, whose views he must have learned from Manning since he knew no English. But Pius also sent letters to Veuillot whom he read in the French. (Butler, II, 202).

The outcome of the struggle is sufficiently well known. The infallibilists won the immediate battle; they got a definition of infallibility. But when one recalls that conciliar definitions should be adopted with practical unanimity, their victory was scarcely as overwhelming as it has usually been described. There is a popular account of the final vote on July 18 in the presence of Pius IX. A fierce storm broke out with lightning around the dome of St. Peter and peals of thunder punctuating each yes vote, reminding the participants of the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai. There were only two negative votes; one of them was cast by Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas. When the vote was completed, both dissenting bishops went up to kneel before the pope and make their submissions. It was said that the little rock had yielded to the big rock. The unanimity required for a solemn definition had been achieved.

In this popular version of the scene nothing is said of the test vote five days earlier when 451 approved, 88 rejected the definition and 62 gave conditional consent, evenly divided between those who wanted a stronger definition and those who would have further weakened it. Most of the opponents

of the definition left before the formal session, reluctant to offend a beloved pontiff by voting against the decree in his presence. It was six years before all of the bishops had submitted. Only priests and laity were involved in the schism which the definition provoked.

But if the infallibilists won the battle they lost the war. Newman, in his "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," was to write: "It can hardly be doubted that there were those in the council who were desirous of a stronger definition, and the definition actually made, as being moderate, is so far the victory of those many bishops who considered any definition on the subject inopportune." (*Newman and Gladstone: the Vatican Decrees*, [1962], 226). Newman, it may be recalled, was under a cloud as long as Pius IX reigned. Leo XIII made him a cardinal.

It is interesting to contrast the popular understanding of the dogma of infallibility with the actual definition as interpreted by Newman. As reliable a source as Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, heads his section on papal infallibility with the statement: "The pope is infallible when he speaks *ex cathedra. (De Fide)*" The average, educated Catholic, brought up on the Baltimore Catechism, would only want to add "when he speaks on faith and morals." Such a simplified statement of the dogma without a careful analysis of the restrictions, which Ott gives in small print, leads to two conclusions, neither justified by the actual definition: that the corporate action of the bishops in council would no longer be necessary or useful, and that the pope could act above and apart from the church. Pope Paul found the opinion, that councils would no longer be needed, sufficiently widespread in 1964 to contradict it in his opening address to the 3rd session of Vatican II.

More serious was the conviction that the pope could act in isolation from the church, as he taught the church what to believe. Gerard Philips, secretary of the Theological Commission of Vatican II, has written: "The Second Vatican Council was at pains to show that it was an error to think that the pope set himself above the church and outside the church when he spoke *ex cathedra.*" (Vorgrimler, ed., *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, [1967], I, 119)

The actual definition was not susceptible of such simplistic explanations. The bishops at Vatican I rejected the strong wording proposed by the theologians: "The Roman Pontiff cannot err when . . . he defines. . . ." (Butler, II, 133) They accepted a compromise statement

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which read: "The Roman Pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra* . . . is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed his church to be endowed in defining doctrine concerning faith and morals. . . ." They did not define the infallibility of the church and deliberately avoided settling controverted issues on that doctrine. So papal infallibility was defined, not absolutely, but in relation to an ecclesial infallibility not yet defined.

Perhaps even more significant are qualifying ideas in the paragraphs preceding the formal definition. Without pinning down exactly how it was to be done, the council indicated some of the means used by popes to determine what is revealed truth: "according to the exigencies of time and circumstances, sometimes assembling ecumenical councils, or asking for the mind of the church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular synods, sometimes using other helps which divine providence supplied. . . ." Even more significant is the next sentence which makes clear that it is not *inspiration* by which "they might make known new doctrine, but that by [the Holy Spirit's] assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the apostles."

Newman, commenting on the assistance granted the popes that they might "inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation" wrote: "In order to secure this fidelity, no inward gift of infallibility is needed, such as the apostles had, no direct suggestion of divine truth, but simply external guardianship keeping them off from error. . . ." (Newman and Gladstone, 189) As defined then, papal infallibility is a negative charism which protects the pope from defining as revelation what is in fact not revelation. According to Vatican II "whenever either the Roman pontiff or the body of bishops together with him defines a judgment, they pronounce it in accord with revelation itself." (*Lumen Gentium*, #25, Abbott trans. 49)

As for the appropriate means by which pope and bishops make inquiry concerning matters to be defined, Gérard Philips has an excellent summary based on the teachings of Vatican II. These consist of diligent use of scripture, recourse to the free and uncensored work of scholars, sensitivity to the insights of the faithful, ecumenical dialogue, and "a frank and courageous dialogue with the spiritual and social realities of each age. . . ." (Vorgrimler, I, 214)

The final phrase of the definition, "and therefore such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not from the consent of the church," is simply a direct refutation of the Gallican position. It denies the need for a subsequent ratification by the bishops while in no way denying the need to consult the church prior to issuing an infallible statement.

All of this has been theory, an attempt to understand what was actually defined at Vatican I. What about practice? From the language of *Pastor Aeternus* and much of the subsequent discussion, one would think that papal infallibility had been exercised frequently and on grave issues. Such is not the case. Only two papal decrees are recognized with certainty as *ex cathedra* definitions—the Immaculate Conception defined by Pius IX in 1854 and the Assumption defined by Pius XII in 1950. Neither proclaims a truth central to the church's teaching on salvation. Neither was defined to stop a great heresy which threatened the life of the church. Their purpose was devotional, expressions of two popes' great love for the Blessed Virgin.

It has been suggested that the doctrinal significance of every mariological statement must be its christological content. The christological content of the church's first mariological statement at Ephesus in 431, calling Mary "the mother of God," is that her Son is truly God, the Son of God.

What is the christological content of the two defined marian dogmas? This may not be too difficult to find for the dogma of the Assumption. It is undoubtedly Christ's victory over death expressed in bible and creed as the resurrection from the dead and in this dogma applied to her through whom he became a member of our race.

But what is the meaning of the Immaculate Conception in view of rethinking of the doctrine of original sin? That doctrine is increasingly seen as an expression of the reality of the sinful situation in the world into which every child is born and therefore the absolute necessity of grace. Would anyone suggest that the world into which Mary and Jesus were born was different? Indeed, may there not be a hidden docetic tendency here? Was there an implicit desire to protect the Incarnate Word from our sinful flesh, a failure to recognize that the "Word made flesh" accepted our real humanity in all its alienation? "For our sakes God made him who did not know sin, to be sin, so that in him we might become the very holiness of God." (2 Cor. 5:21)

Vatican Council II pointedly did not define anything. And there is the delightful story that Pope John shocked a group of seminarians by saying: "I am not infallible." When that statement had had the desired effect he explained: "The pope is only infallible when he speaks *ex cathedra*. I will never speak *ex cathedra*, therefore I am not infallible." In the practical order there will probably never again be a solemn, dogmatic definition by pope or council. There is much to be said for the contention that no historically conditioned, verbal statement can ever encompass the truth of God. God's truth could only be realized in a person and his name is Jesus of Nazareth.

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PAPAL INFALLIBILITY

A Protestant Response

GEORGE A. LINDBECK

Papal infallibility, Father Kaufman says, is no problem. It is a less formidable obstacle to Christian unity than is primacy, and that, so the American Catholic-Lutheran dialogue maintains, "need not be a barrier to reconciliation." There should, then, be no great difficulty in "defusing" the dogma of infallibility.

This sounds strange, as Kaufman himself observes. No one else, as far as I know, is currently quoting Abbot Butler to the effect that infallibility is ecumenically easier to deal with than primacy. Yet on reflecting there is nothing absurd about the suggestion; and Kaufman's supporting arguments, as he notes, are actually "conservative." They largely reiterate the commonplaces of much current Catholic thought.

All that is needed, he holds, is "to return to Vatican I and seek to understand the dogma in the context of the original definition." When this is done, the dubious historical antecedents of infallibility become evident, as do the limitations and uncertainties of its meaning. Many are therefore led to conclude, as does Kaufman, that "In the practical order there will probably never again be a solemn, dogmatic definition by pope or council. There is much to be said for the contention that no historically conditioned, verbal statement can ever encompass the truth of God. God's truth can only be realized in a person and his name is Jesus of Nazareth."

It might be well to spell out more explicitly than Kaufman does what is involved in regarding this as a solution. The problem appears to be solved in the sense that infallibility becomes an inactive or inoperative dogma. It is not repudiated, but is rather relegated to the limbo already occupied by such doctrinal pronouncements as those of Trent on indulgences, or of Innocent III on "no salvation outside the church," or of Florence on the "matter" of the sacrament of orders. These formulations may have had a certain legitimacy at the time of their promulgation, but now that the fundamental issues with which they were concerned are better understood, as most contemporary Catholic theologians seem to hold, they have quite rightly fallen into desuetude. Similarly, infallibility is now becoming dysfunctional. Its nineteenth century role was to defend the church against nationalism and secularism, but now it simply creates difficulties both within the church and in relation to non-Catholics. Further, it is by no means as deeply embedded in the Roman Catholic tradition as, for example, papal primacy. It can therefore be demoted to inactive status without injury either to communal identity or to the inner logic of the Catholic understanding of Christianity.

If this happens, so the implied argument concludes, infallibility will no longer be church-dividing. Catholics need not insist on its acceptance nor non-Catholics on its repudiation. They will perhaps continue to disagree on whether it was in the past a legitimate or illegitimate, a Christian or anti-Christian, doctrine, but it would be wrong to make the settlement of such retrospective historical questions a condition for unity. Mutual recognition of the Christian legitimacy of each other's professions of faith is all that is needed. Since Vatican II, uniformity in doctrinal articulation is not an ecumenical desideratum even for Catholics.

As a non-Catholic, I must leave to others the question of the theological acceptability of this position from the Roman Catholic point of view; but from a Reformation perspective, it seems satisfactory. The Reformers, especially the Lutheran ones, claimed to be contending only for the freedom of the gospel. They professed eagerness for reconciliation with the pope and with their Catholic brethren providing they were not asked to deny anything scriptural nor to affirm anything unscriptural. Mutual doctrinal recognition of the kind we have mentioned would seem to more than meet this requirement.

Theological acceptability, however, is not the whole story, and this brings us to dimensions of the problem which Father Kaufman, perhaps for reasons of space, does not discuss. It can be argued that the institutional and psycho-social functions of papal infallibility are much more crucial than his presentation indicates. In recent articles on Cardinal Manning, George Williams of Harvard suggests that Vatican I was perhaps essential in maintaining the international character of the Catholic Church and in defending its independence against the political, economic and cultural establishments of the day. Without it, the church would have abandoned the working classes even more completely than it did, and Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* might have been impossible. Infallibility is symbolically powerful in ways which go far beyond its propositional content. It has provided transcendent legitimations and sanctions for Roman centralism and for the papal personality cult of the last century. However regrettable these may be, they have also been conditions, perhaps necessary ones, for the maintenance of ecclesiastical unity amidst the disestablishments, social up-

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heavals and persecutions of recent times. There are reasons for doubting, to mention one example, that the Catholic churches behind the iron curtain would still be Roman if it had not been for the first Vatican Council.

Perhaps papal infallibility is no longer needed for these purposes. Perhaps collegiality and subsidiarity will be able to replace the lopsidedly monarchic patterns of the past. But there is still another role which infallibility has played for which no effective substitute is yet in sight.

This role is traditionally spoken of as that of maintaining unity in faith, but it can also be described in terms borrowed from the sociology of knowledge or communications theory. Infallibility, whether of tradition, bible, pope or council, has at times served to sustain cognitive communities, universes of mutually intelligible discourse, and theological enterprises which are at least partially cooperative and cumulative. It has done this by ensuring that there is a common point of reference, a center with which everyone must, at the very least, argue and debate. The ascription of infallibility to some finite authority has been idolatrous and enslaving for both Protestants and Catholics, but it has also constituted a theological analogue to the scientific insistence that hypotheses be experimentally testable, or to the legal requirement that there be constitutions and supreme courts which terminate the process of appeal. Without such devices, the shrill voices of individual whims and private revelations preempt the stage, and communal thinking of either the prosaic or creative varieties becomes impossible.

From this point of view, the present crisis of authority and belief is fundamentally a problem in communal consensus building. The historic linchpins of these processes are bent and broken by the erosion of biblical infallibility among Protestants and of magisterial infallibility among Catholics. Whether a substitute can be found in the *sensus fidelium* as this is formed in its encounters with the world by scripture, tradition and the teaching office of the church is as yet uncertain.

Thus, the problem with which we are confronted is similar to that spoken of in the parable of the seven devils. When one is driven out and the room is left empty, swept and garnished, it is all too likely that its place will be taken by seven devils each worse than the first. This is what makes the issue of infallibility vastly more difficult than Father Kaufman's excellent but too narrowly focused essay would lead one to suspect.

THE INHERITOR

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THE SCREEN

It seemed superfluous to review *The Godfather, Part II* when it opened at the end of last year. No one needed to be persuaded, or could have been dissuaded, about going to see it. Every review I saw was favorable anyway, but that had nothing to do with the film's immediate and enormous popularity. What made the film's success a foregone conclusion was the fact that it had the most lavish, most effective trailer ever used to advertise a coming attraction. It had *The Godfather*, part I, whose own success was all the publicity campaign *Part II* ever needed.

Part I really is like a teaser from *Part II* too. The earlier film is essentially an episode cut out of the middle of the later one—just the sort of vignette that a trailer always snips out of a feature to arouse audience interest. In *Part II* we are told, in effect, the story that precedes and succeeds Michael's *rite de passage* in part I. The two films taken together are the story of the Corleone family from the time Vito is a little boy in Sicily until the time his son Michael is a middle-aged Mafia chief living at Lake Tahoe, Nevada. Like Ovid, an earlier master of Italian historical epic, Coppola simply began his story in part I *in medias res*. But it is still one story, not really a story and a sequel. Since *Part II* opened Coppola himself has even done some talking about how he would like to splice the two films together, adding Las Vegas footage now among the out-takes, in order to make a single, six-hour feature.

Put back into chronological order, however, the story Coppola has told would not be as powerful, as he well knows I'm sure. What makes *The Godfather, Part II* an affecting film, and a better film than part I, is just the way Coppola must cross-cut Vito's and Michael's stories in order to bridge the time gap between them. In the first film, with Al Pacino and Marlon Brando, Coppola was concerned with the connection between Vito Corleone and his son. In the new film, with Pacino and Robert De Niro, Coppola is concerned with the parallel between the two gangsters. He is concerned not so much with how they relate as father and son, but with how they compare as men.

In each man's story in *Part II*, Coppola is throwing his character into relief against the background of the society in which he lives. The idea behind Coppola's treatment of his two main characters here is one which he first developed several years ago as the scriptwriter on *Patton*. It is the idea we see abstracted in that film at the beginning, when General Patton delivers a mono-

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logue standing before an enormous American flag; and Coppola clearly had that device in mind again when he also began part I of *The Godfather* with a man delivering a monologue. But only in the new film does Coppola realize fully the potential of silhouetting his characters against the panorama of the world behind them. In scene after scene Michael and Vito appear before a background of diffused light: a window through which the sun is shining, the indirectly lit walls in an otherwise lampless room where Michael conducts much of his business at Lake Tahoe, a fireworks display before which Vito passes on a street in New York's "Little Italy," etc. In front of his bright and indistinct world, each man appears as a shadowy, dominating figure.

Perhaps it is because we are made to see them both the same way like this that we also see very clearly the differences between the two men's lives and actions. In that shot where Vito passes along a street alight with fireworks, for instance, he is on his way from having committed his first murder. The fireworks are for the feast day of his parish's patron saint, but as Vito moves before them they seem instead to celebrate his own ascendancy, his audacity at having shot the local head of the Black Hand.

If there is a comparable moment in Michael's life, it is when he and Hyman Roth (Lee Strasberg) try to take over Cuba the way Vito took over the neighborhood. This venture also ends with fireworks in the street, so to speak, and with Michael silhouetted against them. But the fireworks this time are the first salvos of Castro's revolution as it reaches Havana. Far from being a celebration of Michael's achievement, the commotion in these streets through which Michael must pass is a rebellion against everything he represents. Unlike his father, who is at one with the society in which he makes his way, Michael is at odds with the societies in which we see him.

Moreover, the one murder that Michael attempts in Havana is of his own partner, Roth, and unlike Vito's attack on the Black Hand, which succeeds because Vito acts as the assassin himself, Michael's attempt fails because he has to send someone else to do it. In fact, Michael and Vito each attempt two murders, and both of Vito's attempts are successful where both of Michael's fail. Vito not only commits his murders himself, but he commits them with relish and flamboyance. They are the only two moments of extravagance in a personality that is otherwise as unassuming, quiet and retiring as Michael's. Perhaps Coppola has Vito commit his murders with his baroque emphasis precisely to make us realize that Michael does not commit his at all. He can himself be the gunman for neither of his, and both of them are bungled as a result.

Like the societies he would corrupt, even the murders Michael would commit are not his own. He is too isolated and insulated from them—too cut off to be effective in them. The same is true of his relationship with the wife and children for whom he presumably promulgates this murder and corruption. The Corleone family's life in America begins in *The Godfather, Part II* with Vito as a boy sitting in a metal chair in the quarantine unit on Ellis Island. The films ends over half a century later with Michael sitting in a chair, similarly alone, at Lake Tahoe. That closing image of Michael is a very moving one because the cross-cut, parallel structure of his and Vito's stories ultimately makes us see them not as two characters, but as a single character. The transitions from Michael's story to Vito's are all done by Coppola with fades, as if they were flashbacks—as if we were seeing Michael in the midst of remembering his own earlier days.

The two men's personalities are so similar, and the circumstances and consequences of those personalities so different, that Michael comes to seem a tragic figure as a result. The very strengths that made Vito's rise to power possible make Michael's exercise of that power empty. What was ambition in the father turns unavoidably to compulsion in the son. This is why Michael's life as a godfather seems in the end so pathetic, so completely an act of self-destruction.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

MICHAEL NIFLIS

ALIVE

O baby chick.
Little more than yellow
feathers and fluff
but, to yourself,
quite enough.

When I pick you up
your frantic peep
pierces my ears.

You scratch
with wrong-sized claws.

Then I feel you,
tiny thing, slowly trusting
the warmth of my hands.

Suddenly you doze
self-centeredly in my palm.

I poke you with one forefinger.
Suspiciously you pop open
your watermelon-seed eyes.

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BOOKS

Critics' choices from the university presses

Samuel Hazo

For me the two most distinguished books published by university presses in 1974 were Anthony Kerrigan's translation of Miquel de Unamuno's *The Agony of Christianity* (Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series LXXXV, $11) and *An Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry* (University of California Press, $12), edited, selected and translated by Mounah A. Khouri and Hamid Algar.

Kerrigan's Unamuno is the third of the seven projected volumes of Unamuno's Bollingen corpus, and, like its two predecessors (*Our Lord Don Quixote* and *The Tragic Sense of Life*), it presents us with a mind ineluctably engaged with those questions that are one with man's hunger for immortality. Whether he is distinguishing "Christianism" from "Christianity" or commenting on "life's one secret," which is "longing for more life," Unamuno always reveals that quality that makes any writer significant—he is unignorable.

In another sense and in another genre, Mounah A. Khouri and Hamid Algar have given us a book of poems by modern Arabic poets who (though unignorable to anyone interested in international literature) have been inexcusably ignored by the West. Now that these translations are available, much of the ignorance can be dissipated. Included in this anthology are Gibran, the distinguished Iraqi Badr Shakir al-Sayyab, the Damascene Ali Ahmed Said (who writes under the name of Adonis—see my *The Blood of Adonis* from the University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971), the superb Palestinians Fadwa Tugan and Mahmud Darwish as well as thirty others from the Arab world. For a sample of the contents, here is Albert Adib's "Fidelity"—"I never loved you/But loved myself in you/The reflections of a dream, a vision/And I know that in your mind/I was only the revenge/For some wasted love/We lived together/And from us was composed a lying legend/That stifled our souls in pain/While the world thought us some eternal song/O the contempt of love/You were not mine, I was not yours/I shall leave you, you will leave/Two strangers that lived together/Leaving behind them/Lies."

Irving Louis Horowitz

Selecting the best book in social science published by a university press, is even more hazardous than defining the mission of a university press, and perhaps equally impossible of success. One is confronted by the existential fact that the best book by a university press may not be the best book as such; that such delimitations represent an arbitrary category designed to satisfy an advertising rubric; and finally, there are limitations of the bestower of symbolic rewards. One advantage I do have is that being the recipient, as editor-in-chief of *transaction/SOCIETY*, of just about every major book published by university presses in social science, I feel more comfortable than with the larger problems one has to face in making a selection. Beyond these technical issues is the presumption that one person can provide a meaningful laying on of hands of another person in such a ubiquitous world as the book industry. Yet, when all is said and done, decisions are made to read, buy, comment and judge books. And if the practice is not entirely savory, at least the company is good.

My choice for the best book of the year, and not simply that published by a university press, but the best book in social science produced last year, is Erving Goffman's *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Harvard University Press, $12.50). Reading this book is entering another world: far from the usual analysis of the vocabularies of motives, we are provided with the motives which underlie our everyday vocabularies. It is a universe not only described, but boldly created by its author. Having read all of Goffman's other work, one thing I can say without hesitation: *Frame Analysis* is a theoretical summing up of all that has transpired in his literary world. It is the quintessential Goffman book, and yet it is entirely different from any of the other seven books upon which his reputation rests. It has a theoretical sobriety and a concern for generalizability only occasionally touched by previous works. Goffman offers not simply a way of looking at the experiential world, but a way of living through that world as experienced. Not that Goffman gives us anything so preposterously pretentious as a new theology, rather he provides us with a new sensibility, a public display of the sorts of private informations all of us have, but rarely are willing to part with. He makes the painful vulnerabilities of private lives a matter of public discourse. As a result, and in an odd way, he makes us less vulnerable.

In this sense, *Frame Analysis* provides us with a thoroughly humane document without ever indulging in the conventional ideological rhetoric and meandering morality that underwrites and often typifies a good deal of so-called empirical sociology. Goffman compels the reader to become incred-

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ibly involved, not only in finding out what he has to say, but locating ourselves within the frames of analysis and the strips of activity Goffman talks about. In this immense work of nearly 600 pages, never once are we bludgeoned into accepting a weightless systemic scaffold. In an odd way, one cannot be a Goffmanian the way one can be a Parsonian or a Marxian: one can only thank heaven for this. The impermissibility of being a follower is perhaps central to Goffman's book itself because the constant questioning of motives and vocabularies prevents intellectual ossification or slavish ideological emulation of a leader.

The book has serious limitations, most of which are duly noted by Goffman himself. To read his introductory essay cum apologia pro vita sua is to have all thunder stolen from any possible line of criticism. He is more than happy to admit to the weaknesses of his data, the randomness of his samples, the outlandish use of anecdotal material without any redeeming face value, the reticence to even mention, much less seriously deal with the function of social stratification, economic class in determining behavior, or in the organization of social life.

This is a book on the organization of experience, not the structure of reality. In that sense, it is thoroughly within James' pragmatic as well as Shuetz' phenomenological tradition. There is no reality for Goffman outside of experiencing events, or, at the most, experiencing other people who themselves either enhance or curb one's own sense of the ampleness of personal vision: expressing primary frameworks, keying events, creating fabrications and deceptions, converting the world of others into a theatrical framework, defining the rules or premises of actors and scenarios, dealing and wheeling with activities outside the frame, anchoring activities in order to constantly distinguish the individual as a total person from the role being performed at any given moment, breaking frames, manufacturing experiences, dealing with negative experiences, the vulnerabilities of life which result from disorganization as well as organization of the world; finally, a universe of transforming experience so that one's life presumably becomes more meaningful.

I know of no single work, outside of Freud's *Dream Analysis*, that provides so rich a storehouse of the self as a private atom in the world of public interactions. If Freud figures so lightly in this work, it has to do with Freud's irritating recourse to moralizing, and Goffman's own contrary belief in experience as something to be examined at face value, and worthy of analysis on its own terms, without assuming subterranean realities. In this sense, *Frame Analysis* derives from a Jamesian psychology much more than Freudian psychiatry. But whatever its derivations, the book as it stands is an unusual and thoroughly outstanding contribution to the theory and practice of social science. In filtering social events through the written word of sociologists, this volume of Erving Goffman must be ranked a landmark achievement.

Samuel Hux

One must admire the intention behind M. L. Rosenthal's *Poetry and the Common Life* (Oxford University Press, $6.95): the attempt to sway to love of poetry the "common reader," who, no matter how elusive, is precisely the person scholars and university presses should seek. But I find I admire the intention somewhat more than the book itself. I think it misleading to say that "the greatest poetry is closest to the common life" without emphasizing a great deal more than Rosenthal does uncommon genius and the fierce artifice that transmutes the common.

Rosenthal loves a line because it shows "how much poetry is present in the voices of people to whom it would hardly occur that this could be so"—which makes sense to me as well. But to build the case for our need of poetry on how much like us it is instead of asking us to move outside ourselves toward something else is a kind of pandering to passivity. Not that Rosenthal ignores that a poem is a thing made and worthy of active wonder—some of his readings are beautifully appreciative of rhythm and image—but his emphasis is steadily on the test of familiarity, often of the most naturalistic sort. A poem on moral dissociation during war, for instance, compares favorably with excerpts from the Calley trial testimony, which "it would be possible to look at . . . as making a poem of considerable impact."

Most of the poems he discusses resist his method. Sure they are of the stuff of life, but they ask the reader to extend himself instead of simply complimenting him on being the stuff. The view of poetry this book assumes doesn't really need an apologist. Our most popular "serious poetry" of the moment, Erica Jong's for instance, depends for its success on providing us with self- (ours and hers) aggrandizing images of the ordinary. And it's a far cry from that poetry most directly related to the common life: folk ballad, with its frank artifice.

Ralph McInerny

The scandal of philosophy, and perhaps of theology, too, is not the multiplicity of conflicting opinions, but rather that they seem to invite us to look over the field of battle from some undefined vantage point. It is as if we could best get a purchase on theology or philosophy, not by engaging in them, but by watching. Small wonder that we then succumb to the doomed hope that some general method, some *characteristica generalis*, can be brought to the fray and resolve all conflicts. Our wish was to become wise and we end up only knowledgeable. Is the remedy to begin *ab ovo*, every man his

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own Thales, every believer alone with God? David B. Burrell, C.S.C., in *Exercises in Religious Understanding* (University of Notre Dame Press, $8.75) suggests a contrast between method and discipline.

Exercises in Religious Understanding is an important book, an exciting book, an edifying book. The Ignatian overtones of the title are not, I suspect, unintended. How can we turn again to Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas and Kierkegaard, get a feel for what they are doing and begin in our own way to do the same sort of thing? Burrell has some things to *say* about this; more importantly he *shows* how it can be done. "Such books are like mirrors; when a monkey looks in, no apostle looks out." Lichtenberg's aphorism certainly applies to the *Confessions*, to the *Proslogion*, to the *Summa* and to *Sickness Unto Death*. No one reads them in order to make a monkey out of himself, but who can deny the simian character of much scholarship? Burrell is no obscurantist, but he wears his learning lightly because he is unwilling to restrict himself to knowledge about these books or these men. "So we have no other way to learn from thinkers like these except to learn how to do what they did so well. And why learn *about* someone unless we can learn *from* him? The nub of the pressure for relevance is protection against pedantry." Burrell's reading of the opening questions of the *Summa theologiae* interprets the text, to be sure, but, in a way that few exegetes

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SAMUEL HAZO's most recent book of poetry is *Four Quarters* (U. of Pittsburgh Press).

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ is Editor-in-Chief of *transaction/SOCIETY* magazine.

SAMUEL HUX teaches humanities at York College of the City University of New York.

RALPH MCINERNY is the author of *Gate of Heaven* (Harper & Row).

JOSEPH WIESENFARTH teaches English Literature at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

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have, he involves us in the process and thus lays upon us a heavier responsibility than that entailed by having an opinion.

When I finished reading Burrell, I turned to George Steiner's *After Babel*. For the sake of a triad, let me add Julian Marias' *Philosophy as Dramatic Theory*. All three books lead the reader through knowledge *about* to a replication of the activity that texts can otherwise only report to us. They restore our wonder and we are reminded that *theoria* is the most intense activity. Burrell, without ever saying it, shows us the needful relation between theology and the spiritual life.

Joseph Wiesenfarth

Jerome Hamilton Buckley has written a book—*Season of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding.* (Harvard University Press, $12) —that is substantially about growing up in the Victorian novel. It treats *David Copperfield, Great Expectations, The Mill on the Floss, Richard Feverel, The Way of All Flesh, Jude the Obscure, Sons and Lovers,* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,* among other novels including Golding's *Free Fall,* as Bildungsromane (education novels), a literary type inaugurated by Goethe, refined by Stendahl, and first documented by Suzanne Howe in *Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen* (1930). In his Introduction Professor Buckley sets out the elements of the education novel and gives an ideal definition to the genre. No one novel represents all the elements but each has some of them. The primary value of the book lies in this attempt to define the genre.

It proceeds by examining the way the constituent elements of the ideal form appear one way or another in each of the novels mentioned above. The narrative pattern of the novel is reconstituted in the pattern of the ideal form. Chapter by chapter, therefore, the book has a predictable sameness. Autobiographical facts are disentangled from the fictional presentation of the semiautobiographical hero, areas of conflict between generations are distinguished, the hero's migration from country to city described, his two love affairs discussed, and the problematic endings of the novels evaluated. This method of proceeding tends more toward synopsis than analysis. The critical essay (for that is what each chapter is) becomes narrative and reminiscent rather than expository and probing. Methodology does not sharpen the edge of criticism. The reader is reacquainted with old friends by talk about their familiar lives from an altered perspective. This is more charming and urbane than it is critical and revelatory.

Season of Youth seems to be written for the general reader—for the reader interested in how Victoria's children are being spoken about nowadays or for the reader just meeting Pip and Maggie and Ernest for the first time. Scholars with a professional interest in fiction will not find much new, say, in the discussion of the endings of *Mill on the Floss* or *Great Expectations* or *Sons and Lovers* or in the description of the faulty form of *Feverel* or the confusion of values in *Jude.* The book's greater originality lies in its description of a genre and in its assimilation of more recent novels to it. But for the most part it is more for the critically youthful than for the seasoned scholar.

Garry Wills

The cult of Shakespeare, "bardolatry," tried Shaw's finest elastic skills. But then a superior debunker went after the idolators rather than the idol, when S. Schoenbaum published his *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford, 1970). He proved, by going through dolorous examples, that one cannot write a life of Shakespeare. So what is he doing

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here (*William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life;* Oxford, 1975; $50)? It is as if Albert Schweitzer, having shown that the historical Jesus will be run down by no quest, wrote *The History of Jesus.* But Shakespeare is not history's Jesus. He is literature's St. Francis—all that is left of him is fake and authentic relics. (The great fortress of Assisi, built against the saint's injunctions, was needed to preserve the saint's bones from aggressive cultists). Shakespeare was a handler of properties, stage and "real." Of costumes, planks, straw, powder. It is very moving to stand in the Folger Library and see his half to a deed of land. No man of words was more a dealer in action, in things—whether the second-best bed or the dog, the bear, he wrote into his plays. He is the great poet of stuff, and it is fitting that he survives, apart from his plays, only as a handler of stuff from his age. Schoenbaum, having destroyed the legends, here preserves the stuff—his book is a great literary reliquary. And the two books, between them, define the cult and retrieve the saint.

Margaret Wimsatt

In the field of literary criticism the most potentially influential book published in the last twelve-months is surely Harold Bloom's *A Map of Misreading* (Oxford University Press, $8.95). Professor Bloom has been constructing this chart for a number of years, with studies of the Romantic poets, Blake, Yeats. *The Anxiety of Influence* mapped the terrain in 1973; this sequel sets out to be more specific, bearing to its predecessor a relation not unlike that of I. A. Richards' famous pair: *Principles of Criticism* and *Practical Criticism.* A poem is a text floating in a vacuum; criticism is reticulation, a knotty relation between *this* text, those that went before, and those that will follow. Strong readers tie their own knots. The strongest reader of an established poem is the following poet who destroys the edifice in order to build it anew, differently; all is relation and interplay. Necessarily, this means war, on Oedipal and Freudian principles. We are in a world far different from that of T. S. Eliot, with comfortable tradition being handed on and gently altered, and far, too, from Northrop Frye's tidy cosmos. The creative contraction, the breaking-apart-of-the-vessels, restoration-restitution: these are the three stages of creation outlined by the rabbinical master Isaac Luria in the sixteenth century for purposes of Biblical exegesis, and adapted by Bloom to the reading of English literature. Strong poets modify the tradition by overturning, adapting or substituting; this act Bloom calls "misprision."

These books leave out a large part of the English curriculum. Shakespeare, for instance, seems to have no true begetter, and no sons whatever. The novel is not discussed, nor other critics,

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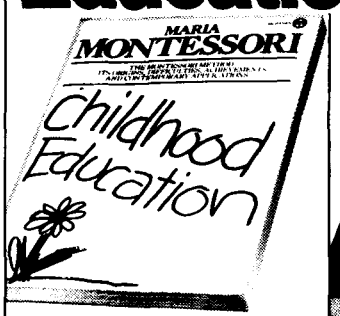

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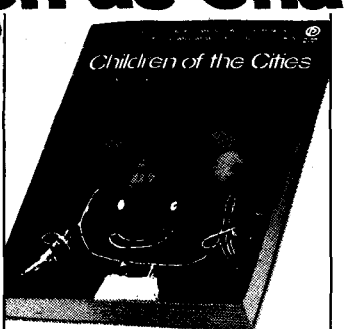

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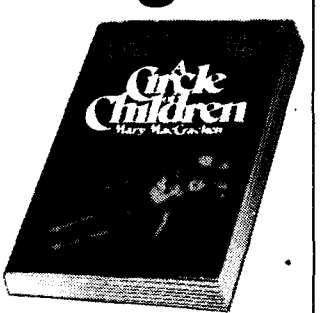

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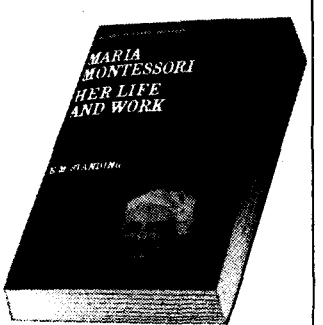

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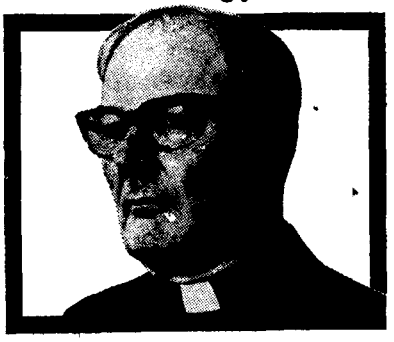

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nor the Augustans, not anything that might be described as *belles-lettres.* Bloom's Pantheon includes: Milton, Blake, Shelley, Browning, Emerson, Whitman, Stevens, among the dead, and the living poets R. P. Warren, A. R. Ammons, and John Ashberry. The central chapter gives his very elaborate map, and uses it for a long discussion (Bloom would *not* say explication) of Browning's "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came," a vehicle perfectly suited to bear these theories.

The potential reader should be warned that this is wordy and difficult stuff. The Greek terms, adapted and invented, one might say, *misread,* would confuse Father Aristotle himself. The reason to read it, for nonphilosophers, is its array of brilliant insights into the poetry Professor Bloom likes. As his poets are hyperbolic, so is he, standing on the seashore he considers the true American *locus,* mingling passion with learning, urging us, in spite of surging decay, to endure.

REVIEWS

THE LAST AUGUSTINIAN

BERNARD MURCHLAND

Sartre and the Sacred
THOMAS M. KING
U. of Chicago Press, $8.95

In a lecture some time ago I referred to Sartre as "the last of the Augustinians." A number of the audience were puzzled by the analogy and some thought it mistaken. What I meant was that the two writers are broadly akin in the themes they deal with and not dissimilar in style and intent. While I did not have anything like a tight case, I pointed out three thematic parallels which seemed to me to be basic in both. In the first place, the two are haunted by an ideal of perfection. Two, a radical dualism permeates their work. And, thirdly, there is a common sense of the self in its alienation and dramatic quest for identity.

I mention the above as a preface to a review of Father King's book because I know of no work which confirms what was for me originally not much more than an impression with a great wealth of detail and persuasive reasoning. Father King states his claim succinctly: "I have come to believe that much of Sartre's thought can be understood only in the context of the spiritual tradition he endlessly renounces" with the result that his writings have "an overriding theological character." His concern is not specifically with Augustine; rather the tradition in question is primarily that of the West, especially in its Catholic manifestations. And while that tradition is many things Father King would no doubt agree that the Augustinian strain is most helpful in elucidating Sartre's work.

Compare, for example, the theme of perfection in the two writers. Augustine's multiple descriptions of the God reality are summed up in his famous "our hearts are restless until they rest in thee." Sartre, for his part, defines man as the desire to be God. "Everything within me," he writes in *Being and Nothingness,* "demands God and that I cannot forget. To be man means to reach toward being God. Man is fundamentally the desire to be God." Sartre states this ideal variously as the coincidence of objectivity and subjectivity, of consciousness and substance or, in his most technical terms, of being-in-itself and being-for-itself. If there were a God he would be for Sartre perfect in the sense that he would combine in his being a boundless freedom together with the structure of a determined substance and

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man would be made in his image. Father King observes: "It is this contradictory ideal that rests at the heart of man. Haunted by the impossible synthesis, man is always aware of his own imperfection."

This dualism of two distinct modes of being—the in-itself and the for-itself—is reminiscent of the Augustinian dualism of two cities. Augustine stressed the irreconcilable character of the two states. Likewise Sartre. Being in-itself is what it is. Like a stone it is structured, determined, objective. The for-itself on the other hand is never what it is. Like a wind it is ever blowing beyond itself seeking rest in the substantiality of things but never finding it. The for-itself is the distinctively human realm of consciousness which is free, undetermined, projective. Consciousness is, in one of Sartre's more striking metaphors, a "nothingness"—i.e. that which can never coincide with the thing-like. This dualism is inexorable. It has for Sartre the status of an ontological law. Never, he writes, "could my consciousness be a thing, because its way of being in itself is precisely to be for itself; it appears as a pure spontaneity, confronting a world of things which is inertness." Father King rightly notes that dualisms of this sort have their precedent in the religious idea of a fall. Having fallen from an original perfection man now strives "for the great return when the original Pleroma will be reachieved." It might also be looked upon as a variation upon the *todo y nada* theme found in mystical writings where reality is conceived as a dialectic between emptiness and fullness.

Sartre's dualism is what marks out the parameters of his anthropology—the endless frustrations of the self in its attempts to find definition and rest, always doomed efforts of a free consciousness to find coincidence with the objects of its desire. Even Sartre cannot outdo Augustine in cataloguing the miseries of this frustration. "Thou didst set me face to face with myself, that I might behold how foul I was, how crooked and sordid, bespotted and ulcerous. From this hell upon earth there is no escape save through the grace of the savior Christ." Nothing is more instructive than reading the *Confessions* side by side with, say, *Nauseé*. Sartre, of course, does not speak of grace. But the transforming power of grace plays an analogous role in his scheme. This is the key to his social activism and evidence that for him there is always some slim hope of an exit. Critics sometimes point out that the later Sartre has tempered the rigidity of his original categories to the requirements of *realpolitik*. This does not seem to me to be true. He has no doubt modified his position in a number of ways and of late has been far more concerned with politics than ontology. Still, it is the same Sartre—striving mightily to effect the realm of freedom from the realm of necessity. As early as *Being and Nothingness* he could say that freedom is identical with acting. Man is saved (and after 1950 Sartre uses the term salvation) through his creative efforts in history. By exer-

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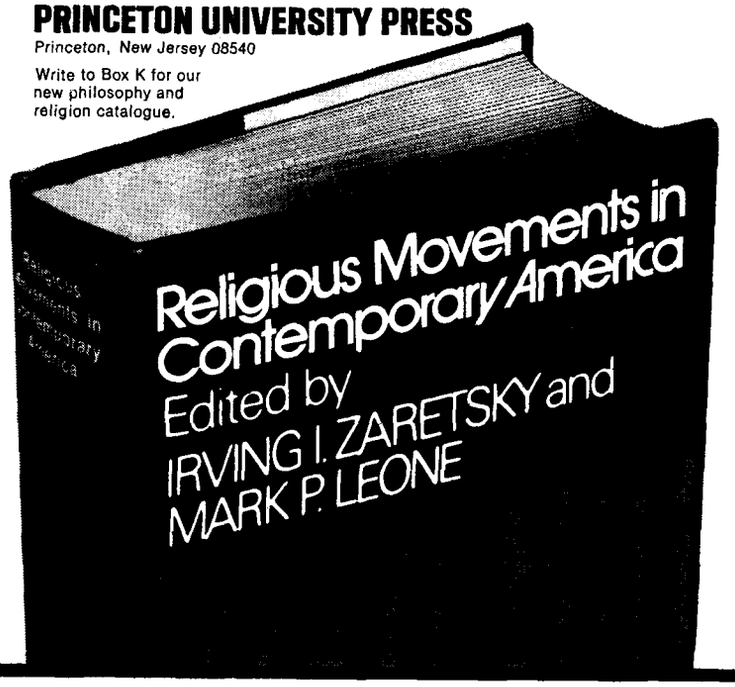

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cizing our freedom we define ourselves and make history, thus contributing to the eventual kingdom of Freedom.

It might be objected here that Sartre parodies and reverses the spiritual tradition rather than instance it because for him God is impossible whereas in the tradition God was a veritable answer to the dilemmas of existence; for him there is no coincidence of opposites as there was for the majority of the mystics; for him the drama of the self's quest is finally futile—"man is a useless passion"—whereas the tradition postulated a positive outcome of the battle between good and evil; and so forth. Does not Sartre twist whatever he has gleaned from the tradition to his own atheistic ends at every turn? Father King overrules this kind of objection when he says: "Sartre has been widely known as an atheist but perhaps today he could be better understood as a religious prophet preaching a process theology; in the manner of Renan or H. F. Alexander, he seems to be looking forward to a god who is coming to be." The emphasis on corporate salvation, a new freedom, brotherhood, historical commitment and the like bear more than a coincidental resemblance to the Christian idea of redemption.

I do not wish to disagree with this although I would be more inclined to say that Sartre is most traditional in his emphasis upon the dark pole, the "atheistic" moment in the dynamic of faith when God does not exist. He thus speaks more directly to the contemporary experience than do many more official spokesmen of the tradition. The loss of faith is a valid as well as a common dimension of religious experience. Father King does not say this explicitly but it seems to follow from some of the things he does say. In any event, he makes clear that Sartre is important in the final analysis because he is mythically rich. His philosophy rests upon an enduring dialectic of experience and is expressed with great dramatic force. Sartre is surely the most imagistic of philosophers since Nietzsche! He is easy to refute from this or that point of view (and has been so refuted dozens of times) but at the risk of missing his aesthetic thrust. This would be to do him the greatest injustice that can befall an imaginative writer: viz., to miss the point of his metaphors. Images are often more important than arguments and this seems to me especially true in Sartre's case.

It would not do to press the religious implications of Sartre's thought too far but they are illuminating. In *The Words* Sartre wrote: "I grew like a weed on the compost of Catholicity; my roots sucked up its juices and I changed them into sap." Father King's book ably demonstrates the extent to which this is true. It is, in addition, an excellent compendium of Sartre's general philosophical stance.

Wilfred Owen

JON STALLWORTHY

Oxford U. Press, $17.50

JEFFREY MEYERS

Wilfred Owen, the finest English war poet, was born in 1893 in the Welsh marches, the eldest son of a minor railway official and a refined, puritanical mother. He spent a commonplace and uneventful youth in Birkenhead and Shrewsbury, and in the years between school and the army was lay assistant to a vicar in Reading, Berlitz teacher of English in Bordeaux and tutor to wealthy children in the Pyrenees. He was in France when the war broke out, and passed his time "reading the Newspapers in an armchair in a shady garden" and vaguely planning to join the Italian Army or the Artists' Rifles. The first half of this sympathetic and valuable biography leads to Owen's enlistment in October 1915 and inevitably includes many trivial and rather dull details, mainly from his letters and the autobiography of his younger brother and editor, Harold. For Owen struck the sophisticated Siegfried Sassoon, when they first met in August 1917, as "a rather ordinary young man, perceptibly provincial."

The last half of the book, on the

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war years, is of course far more interesting. Though Owen was strongly influenced by Keats and had a precocious awareness of his poetic vocation, his early poems are surprisingly feeble. Jon Stallworthy, himself a considerable poet and experienced soldier, provides a sensitive reading of the poems, emphasizes Owen's development and shows how he evolved from the derivative:

> A thousand suppliants stand around thy throne,
> Stricken with love for thee, O Poesy,

to the confident and charactertistic:

> Under the mud where long ago they fell
> Mixed with the sour sharp odour of the shell.

Stallworthy is particularly good on the relation of Owen's personal combat experience, which charred his senses and forced him into sudden maturity between January and June 1917, and the general—and hopeless—strategy of the Somme war. Owen shed his romantic illusions rather slowly. When he first arrived he wrote: "There is a fine heroic feeling about being in France, and I am in perfect spirits"; and after he went over the top in April he still expressed sacrificial sentiments worthy of Kipling or even of Tennyson: "There was an extraordinary exultation in the act of slowly walking forward, showing ourselves openly."

The very next day, while still asleep, he "was blown in the air right away from the bank," was shell-shocked and sent to recover in Craiglockhart hospital, near Edinburgh, where he spent the four most formative months of his life. The intense stress of war and shock, followed by a period of reflection under the kindly care of Dr. Rivers and the inspiring influence of his courageous fellow-patient, Sassoon, who introduced him to Yeats' poetry and corrected his work, propelled Owen toward self-revelation. In October 1917 his molten feelings cooled and hardened into the iron truths of his great poems, "Disabled" and "Dulce et Decorum Est." Just after these poems he formulated his artistic credo: "I think every poem, and every figure of speech should be a *matter of experience*. . . . My subject is War, and the pity of War. The Poetry is the pity." By the end of 1917 he could justly boast: "I go out of this year a Poet, my dear Mother, as which I did not enter it."

Stallworthy, on the basis of a mutilated letter, speculates that Owen was forced to leave the vicarage after smuggling a young boy into his room and states that the resulting furor nearly caused a nervous breakdown. In October 1916, before the Somme, Owen wrote two poems that expressed shocking realism in a luxuriant context and revealed his "latent or suppressed homosexuality":

> To me was that Smile,
> Faint as a wan, worn myth,
> Faint and exceeding small
> On a boy's murdered mouth.

Like Walt Whitman at the Civil War hospital, Owen was fascinated by the horrors of suffering and violent death, and like T.E. Lawrence he carried photographs of the dead and mutilated and showed them to friends. Stallworthy convincingly concludes that Owen "wrote more eloquently than the other poets of the tragedy of boys killed in battle, because he felt that tragedy more acutely."

Nor was Owen himself destined to escape what he called "the yawn of death's jaws." After his discharge from Craiglockhart he rejoined his regiment in Scarborough, shifted to Ripon, and arrived for his second campaign in northeast France in September 1918. The great German offensives of the spring had failed and the enemy had just withdrawn from the Château Thierry salient. In October Owen gallantly captured a German machine gun and

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BERNARD MURCHLAND, a philosophy professor at Ohio Wesleyan, is the author of *The New Iconoclasm* (Doubleday).

JEFFREY MEYERS' most recent books are *A Reader's Guide to Orwell* and *Painting and the Novel.*

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scores of prisoners, and was awarded the Military Cross. On November 4th, one week before the armistice, he was killed during the desperate battle on the Sambre Canal, where four Victoria Crosses were won before sunrise, and joined Rupert Brooke, Isaac Rosenberg and Edward Thomas as poet-victims of the Great War.

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Abigail McCarthy (Cont.)

values—what Seymour Martin Lipset called the key American values—equality and achievement. We take these values for granted: we do not question them. Our institutions have been shaped by them. De Tocqueville noted that Americans as Americans are encouraged to press for their objectives, not to accept their lot or hope for remedy from an established upper class. But, says Lipset in *The First New Nation*:

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